

JPRS 77440

23 February 1981

# **East Europe Report**

**POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS**

No. 1851



**FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE**

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## ALBANIA

### BRIEFS

FINNISH AMBASSADOR RECEIVED--Haxhi Lleshi, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly received at the People's Assembly Olli Oleg Bergman, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Finland to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, in connection with the latter's presentation of credentials. The ceremony was also attended by Minister of Foreign Affairs Nesti Nase; Xhafer Spahiu, secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; Bashkim Pitarka, director of the second directorate of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and Jovan Antoni, chief of the protocol branch of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [Text] [AU142004 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 14 Jan 81]

ETHIOPIAN AMBASSADOR RECEIVED--Haxhi Lleshi, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, received today at the Presidium offices Assefa Uoldie, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Ethiopia to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, who presented his credentials. The ceremony was attended by Foreign Minister Nesti Nase; Xhafer Spahiu, secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; Bashkim Pitarka, director of the second directorate of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and Jovan Antoni, chief of the protocol branch of the Foreign Ministry. [Text] [AU171955 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 17 Jan 81]

CSO: 2100

# PREMIER TODOROV'S BOOK REVIEWED

Sofia LITERATURE FRONT in Bulgarian 11 Dec 80 pp 1, 3

[Review by Stoyan Stoimenov, people's worker in culture, of the book "Usilni Godini" [Strenuous Years] by Stanko Todorov. Selected works, 1949-1979. Partizdat, Sofia, 1980, 630 pages. Compiled and edited by Marko Markov]

[Text] On the occasion of his 60th birthday anniversary Comrade Stanko Todorov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Bulgarian People's Republic, was awarded the title of Hero of Socialist Labor for his active participation in the struggle against fascism and capitalism and for the building of socialism.

Recently the book "Usilni Godini," a collection of selected works by Stanko Todorov, may be seen on the shelves of bookstores.

The book reflects the comprehensive Komsomol, party and state activities of the author who has covered a long upward path since 1936 when he joined the revolutionary ranks of the Sofia RMS [Young Workers League] organization. He is celebrating his 60th birthday in the high party position as member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo. For the past 20 years he has been member of the party's leadership nucleus. He has been chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Bulgarian People's Republic since 1971.

In the opening of the book the author describes in a simple natural style the difficult struggle against fascism, his youth and the working people in Sofia and the villages in the Pancharevo area among whom he engaged in clandestine revolutionary activities and who sheltered and fed him.

"Like many of you," he said, addressing working people in Pernik, "I too remember the way life was once in czarist Bulgaria. My father was a miner who carried in one hand a bag with bread and in the other a large lump of coal, covering by foot the 30 kilometers separating Klenovik Village from Pernik. I remember how our mothers harvested and bound the sheaves, and made bread while the men worked in the mines and worried how to feed and clothe their numerous and always hungry children" (p 5).

He went to work at an early age. At 16 he joined the RMS and has remained for nearly 45 years in the leading ranks of the fighters for the liberation of the homeland from fascism and the building of socialism.



Grateful for the exploit of the people's fighters and their assistants, he recalls: "The clandestine regimental group was exposed (in 1943--the reviewer) and caught. I was the only one who escaped. Even though alone I tried to carry out the group's plan. I escaped from the barracks and despite the fact that henceforth a death sentence was weighing on me I was able to dedicate my efforts to the party and the people" (p 11).

Days and months filled with danger followed, in struggle and clandestine life in the capital. Severely wounded, he was captured on 30 March 1944. He managed to escape from the Police Directorate while the city was being bombed. Once again he joined the struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution. After many dangers and narrow escapes, he was lucky to see the "dawn of freedom."

The book contains two articles on Georgi Dimitrov, written with a feeling of respect for the "great teacher and comrade of the youth." He stresses that our fighting youth see in Georgi Dimitrov the embodiment of the best features of the true communist, the earnest patriot, and the courageous revolutionary fighter for the victory of communism. The youth learns from and follows him.

In another article the author traces Georgi Dimitrov's activities in the first 5 years as the builder of socialist Bulgaria.

The first part of the book includes the speech "Tried Fighter for the Cause of Communism," delivered on 7 September 1971 on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of Todor Zhivkov's birth, Stanko Todorov's close fellow worker, friend, and comrade. In this speech Stanko Todorov vividly depicted Comrade Zhivkov's revolutionary path since youth and his great contributions to the party and to socialist Bulgaria which he heads. "It is a real stroke of good luck that now, in this decisive age of the building of socialism," he stresses, that such an inflexible and tried fighter for the cause of communism as Comrade Todor Zhivkov is heading the party and the state. He is the universally recognized and beloved leader. The party members, the agrarian and the nonparty people--our entire nation--see in him the worthy air and perpetuator of the legacy and the cause of Dimitur Blagoev and Georgi Dimitrov" (p 111).

In his November 1949 article published in the periodical MLADEZH, the author considers a number of basic problems of the youth (and not only the youth) communist movement, such as communist morality, love for homeland and for the great USSR, and the attitude of the young people toward labor, socialist property, comradeship and friendship.

The collection includes many major works by the author--reports, articles, speeches, and statements at the Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, and other BCP congresses.

Two of the book's sections deal with problems of the party's economic policy and of improvements in social management, and problems of high effectiveness in the work of the government and its organs.

In the final section of the work the author discusses the struggle waged by the Bulgarian People's Republic for peace and friendship among nations and for integration and rapprochement with the USSR and the other fraternal socialist countries.

It would be difficult to describe the entire variety of the works included in the book. They are rich in content, and properly organized and edited. The style is clear, precise and literary, which is a feature of this author.

Stanko Todorov is always well prepared for his speeches. He has no use for "oratorical mannerisms." He captivates his audience with his clear and precise thinking and good knowledge of the problems. In his statements and speeches he does not avoid difficulties and never embellishes reality or his personal activities.

The working people believe and follow him. I remember a case in Gorublyane Village in the period of agricultural collectivization. Since collectivization in the villages of Lenin Rayon was progressing with difficulty, the rayon party committee organized in the public reading room of Gorublyane Village a meeting for the peasants of the surrounding villages. We invited Stanko Todorov who was at that time BCP Central Committee secretary. A mistrust for labor cooperative farms could be felt in the hall. Todorov was preceded by a comrade from the city BCP committee who was considered a great speaker. Things were not going smoothly, the peasants were restless and were arguing with us. The speaker was not trusted. Everything quieted down when Stanko Todorov took the floor. Everyone looked at him. His words were listened to carefully. He was trusted because he was known from his struggle against fascism. He had worked clandestinely in these villages, had set up combat groups and led the toiling peasants to battle. They knew that he made no distinction between words and actions. He was a great help to the rayon committee in the founding and strengthening of TKZS in the villages in this area.

The book "Usilni Godini" has the characteristic features of the author's style and method. It is distinguished by sincerity, realism, accuracy and substantiation of ideas, clarity and logic of thought, modesty and honesty. These qualities intensify its impact on the reader, who has no doubt what that the author has told him the truth.

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BULGARIA

PEASANT COMPLAINS AGAINST INEFFECTIVE, CORRUPT MANAGEMENT OF FARM

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Jan 81 p 3

[Letter to RABOTNICHESKO DELO by Todorka Todorova Kamberova from Archar Village, Vidin Okrug]

[Text] The RABOTNICHESKO DELO initiative entitled "People's Precongress Referendum," was announced in the 24 November 1980 issue. The very first week the editors received hundreds of letters, some of which have already been published. Currently, they are receiving 300 to 400 letters daily. This fact alone proves the great lively interest with which the working people welcomed this initiative as well as their active participation in the profound and frank discussion preceding the 12th party congress.

Several days ago we received the letter by Todorka Todorova Kamberova from Archar Village, Vidin Okrug. Following is the full text of the letter.

Dear comrades:

I read in the 24 November issue of our newspaper the article "Frankly, Like Communists," and I decided that I too will express frankly, like a communist, some of my thoughts, views and suggestions related to the People's Precongress Referendum.

My name is Todorka Todorova Kamberova, from Archar Village, Vidin Okrug. I became a BCP member in December 1957. My party card has number 0384140 and I am a member of the territorial primary party organization.

I do not work in production nor do I receive a pension, for I became ill at a time when I was not going to work in order to take care of a grandson. It was against my conscience to seek a friendly physician to certify to my illness and to help me receive a pension as many people do. This was not the fault of the state, so why should I use its funds? May my mate and my three children remain alive and healthy and I will not die of hunger. Such were my thoughts.

I was the daughter-in-law of Yordan Mladenov Kamberov, who died in 1974. He was a participant in the September 1923 uprising and acknowledged active member of the fighters against fascism and capitalism. I joined the RMS [Young Workers League] immediately after 9 September 1944 and became a member of that family at the age of 20. It was within it that I grew up and was educated and entered the ranks of our Bulgarian Communist Party. All members of Father Yordan's family are BCP members who have been raised in a spirit of caring for the public good, being intolerant of shortcomings, and criticize daringly, without fear of getting in trouble.

I am 54 years old and have five grandchildren. Since 1968 I have been a housewife and every year my party assignment has been to deliver to the state two hogs. I raise from five to eight hogs every year in order to help my homeland, even though a little. This is as much as I can. Presently I am fattening four hogs because both feed and the young pigs arrived very late. I shall deliver them, possibly, in January.

Briefly, such is my biography. Even though I do not directly work in production, I believe that I have the right to express my view on some problems and make some suggestions.

When the TKZS [Labor Cooperative Farm] in our village was founded, it planted all crops, as was the case of each household, to meet its own needs for food and sell a few products in order to purchase clothing, shoes, tools, and other things not produced from the land. Our farm was at that time a big household and the then chairman and brigade leaders, despite their low educational level, were able to plan everything and, together with the people, raise and produce all the necessary crops such as peppers, tomatoes, onions, cabbage, beans, sunflowers, wheat, corn, flax, and everything which our soil can produce. Indeed, our Archar soil can produce anything. Under the circumstances of the times, without machines, without higher education cadres, without chemical fertilizers and without the help of science we had beans, onions, potatoes, and vegetables available to virtually all households, without going to the store or the marketplace.

Today we have everything, machines, cadres, science. Yet we, the farmers, are waiting in line for beans, onions, flour, potatoes, and anything else which you may be purchasing in the city. Why is this? Comrades of mine have discussed the problem with one of our agronomists. His answer to the question was, "Because they are allocated on a planned basis, 'from above,'" and you are told that, "you will produce this, you will not produce that, this is more profitable than that, and so on," without giving a thought to the feeling of the people. For the past few years since the consolidation we are no longer producing vegetables. Yet, we produced a great deal of vegetables and shipped them both to the domestic and foreign markets. And what the farmers are planting today in their yards and their small truck gardens can meet their requirements for the summer but is not enough to meet their winter needs. The farmer, however, has become accustomed to having in basement something for himself, his children and his guests. He is generous. This is the way the peasant is. If you have nothing in your basement, the rural stores are not so stocked as those of the city.

A great deal more could be written on the subject but you know far more and know it better.

I think that in order for such weaknesses to be eliminated it would be proper for the planning of the sowing and planting of the various crops "from above" to apply to the decares from which the goods to be delivered to the state should be insured. However, a certain number of decares should be left at the disposal of the farm managers who, together with the cooperative farmers, would decide what crops to be planted in order better to insure the needs of the rural workers for vegetables and flour (in our rayon no wheat is planted in the private plots), beans, and other crops. You may say, "Why are you not growing these crops in your private plots? We do, but not by all farmers, because cultivation of the land depends on the willingness of some tractor drivers who choose whose land to plow and sow and when, as a result of which they will be taken to the restaurant and will find an envelope in their pocket as well. The result is that if everything is plowed and sowed on time the peasant will have his beans but if the plowing is late whatever one plants will result in leaves only and no beans. In such cases we should call upon the conscience of the mechanizers who should not divide people into "ours" and "yours."

Our village has many people such as gypsies and troughers (this is the way people who once used to make wooden troughs are called in our area), along with Bulgarians who have no private plots. Furthermore, every year the private plots of some people are being changed. Since we are speaking frankly, like communists, it would be proper to say that the private plots are not chosen and allocated by a commission according to a person's worth: managers, relatives and friends get the more fertile areas (sometimes even nonirrigated areas) while the rank and file cooperative farmers who cultivate the land and produce the goods are given more distant and less fertile plots. This makes true the old saying that "You get according to who you are" or "The rich get richer."

I suggest that such commissions should include shepherds, cowhands, and crop-growing cooperative farmers, so that the private use plots should be allocated more equitably and at a time suitable for sowing.

In order to grow more vegetables I suggest that our scientists develop suitable small prefabricated greenhouses for the private yards and truck gardens. Why is it that the Mongolian comrades can build large prefabricated mobile tents for the livestock breeders while we are unable to make small prefabricated greenhouses? Their price should be accessible to the peasants. Some farmers have larger yards and like to engage in truck gardening. They are quite creative in this area. This would also provide more vegetables for more people. However, the producer should be also obligated to sell a certain share of the produce to the consumer cooperative at state prices.

Our scientists can do this. All of us trust them. They are our brothers, sisters and children. Everything they have accomplished so far has been for the good of the people.

I also suggest that some thought be given to the production (and mass private use) of small machinery for the cultivation of vineyards, the corn crops, and others, to be used instead of horses and donkeys. Today the cost of plowing one decare in vines or corn costs 10 leva and a farmer could plow up to 5 decares at 10 leva or earn 50 leva. Who can earn so much today? Also, hauling from the forest one cubic meter of logs costs 10 leva. Three trips daily means a 30-leva daily wage.

Yet, we must pay the price, for the man must feed and take care of the horse or the donkey, run after the plow, sweat and run out of time by cultivating everything by hand. The small cultivation machinery should also be inexpensive, for the small Universal tractors cost 2,000 leva and are too expensive for the peasants. The machines should be such that women as well could handle them, for there are more women than men working. We would be grateful to our scientists for such assistance.

We also have farmers who skillfully grow watermelons and cantaloupes. At one point they were forbidden to plant more than half a decare in such crops. But when they produced them some could be sold on the market as well.

I think that it would better to encourage them and oblige them to sell some to the consumer cooperative so that they would be available both to the local population and the workers in the cities.

As to the state wheat deliveries, there was a time when, most ceremoniously, with flags and slogans, oxen and horse-driven carts crossed the village in a wonderful caravan, with the young people singing, so that everyone could see that the grain was going to the state granary and that there would be bread for the worker, the soldier, and for all brothers and sisters in the city who do not grow grain but produce other goods for us, the peasants. The self-esteem and pride created by this toil warmed our hearts. Why is this not done now? To this day the grain is delivered to the homeland in long truck trains with great solemnity.

Once in the harvesting season, every day we used a primitive duplicating machine to produce copies of "High Yields," and "Alarms," and "Flashes" which were small information bulletins reporting the events of the day and the week, the need for the adoption of measures approved should something have fallen behind, information on forthcoming tasks, and so on. Critical materials were published as well, all this being done under such primitive conditions and with cadres without higher education. Why is it now, with such advanced technology, that things are not being made even better? The same evening such duplicated materials were distributed among villages and brigades and the next day were read and discussed in the fields.

Now as to the question of village cadres. Most of the managing cadres in agriculture are assigned by the okrug. They were born in a village and are agronomers, engineers, veterinarians, or other specialists who have worked a year or so in the villages, in the mud, and have been taken back or have settled their careers through favoritism and become urban residents, with their own city apartments.

Then they are sent back to the villages with a gross annual salary. What about the local cadres who have not sought easy jobs or the comforts of the city but have remained to work in the villages and continue to hold lower positions without the one year gross salary. This situation irks the people. Meanwhile, those who



come here do not manage like local cadres but act on the basis of the position they held in the city. Our village people call them "managers on wheels." The farm's jeep or Nisa are their frequently-used transportation to their city homes. They also use the buses passing through the village. What is the worth of such cadres in agriculture? In the morning the earliest bus arrives at 7:00 or 8:00 while in the evening it leaves for the city at 6:00 or 7:00 pm. The summer day is long and the work of the farmer frequently exceeds 8 hours. In the harvesting season this means late arrival and early departure. No time is left regularly to visit the cooperative farmers in the fields. What is the use of this? On the basis of such situations which, I believe, do not occur in our village alone, I would like to make the following suggestions:

Local cadres must be helped to develop and be promoted. The village has cadres with higher education who know the people, who understand the work better because they are familiar with the land and when and how should any given area be cultivated, because they have lived and worked here for many years without trying to make money in the city. There was a time when cadres were chosen among the best and were recommended at our party meetings and approved by the okrug and elected by the cooperative farmers. Now the decision is made at the municipality. An order is issued and the person goes to work, after which at the sessions or we, at the party organization, raise our hand seconding the appointment. Should we fail to raise a hand we are told that it makes no difference. Such practices do not seem to be quite proper. Is it not true that the purpose is for the work to go better? Who hurts more--the local resident or the one who is assigned? When the term for the assignment expires, such cadres go home and the position of the farm remains open. Such a frequent replacement of cadres is not very suitable.

My suggestion is for the superior organs to consider the propriety of such a frequent change of cadres.

Let me speak of the conditions of the mechanizers who participate in harvesting the people's grain. They are issued food only during the campaign. Why, comrades? The people's system is already 36 years old and every day we learn of the many successes achieved in our homeland in all sectors of life. Yet here there is no one to build a workers' cafeteria on a year-round basis which would serve at least those who are permanently employed in agriculture. The farmyard had cowhands, general workers in the fodder kitchen, storekeepers, watchmen, people from the repair workshop, the garage and the veterinary service, and the shepherds who were not far away; the village also has its bookkeepers and other personnel. Is there a lack of funds for the opening of a cafeteria at the present stage of development of agriculture or is it that there is no concern for the people?

Nor all of our farm buildings are pleasant to look at in the way that private homes and yards are. Yet, they are located along the Vidin-Lom which is traveled by a number of foreign tourists. Improvements would be required not only for the sake of the tourists but for our own sake, so that we may live and work better. Let us not even mention the fact that 2 to 3 years ago the Komsomol members acquired a boiler for a public bath. They purchased hangers but to this day no one can be found to install the boiler and the cowhands can still not take a bath.

Our mill is a good new building. At one point the yards of the mills of the rich peasants were crowded by livestock such as hens, geese, ducks, turkeys, and others. Why is it that today as well there should be no large amounts of poultry in such yards which are full of feed? They would procure a certain guaranteed part of the food for the users of an eventual cafeteria.

From everything I have said so far the superior agricultural organizations should find their proper role in terms of organization, order and accounting.

Would it not be better when organizing trips to the Soviet Union to send along entire teams of cooperative farmers (today there are as many brigades as there were teams in the past), sending those who have worked 20 or more years without leaving the farm. Such people would make a collective visit and study together new developments, meet leading workers, and so on. Subsequently, such small brigades would do better work.

As the newspaper writes, "All natural and manpower resources must be used so that agriculture may be raised to a new stage of development and new type brigades may be built."

I suggest in this connection that on the basis of the available manpower and the goods produced, some industrial shops or workshops be opened in all villages such as canneries where all remaining farm goods could be used rather than left unpicked in the fields even though labor and funds have been invested in them. Large amounts of fruits remain under the trees in the orchards, the vegetables in the gardens, and grapes on the vines. There are people who could estimate what and how much could be produced from such goods and what funds could be earned.

If such a workshop was to be built, some days jars could be filled for private needs and for the households of the farmers who would pay for them. Today we do not know when the stores have received lids for jars and who has been able to purchase them.

It would be proper to mention here our "wrongs"--thefts. Comrades, these thefts are no longer minor, for they are not committed by two, three or five people. Thefts have become widespread even though we call them petty. People, wherever they happen to be working, would take something, haul something, drive something, put something in a bag, in a basket, in a case, in a cage, in a handcart, in a tractor, or even in a truck. People steal or take anything such as peppers, onions, tomatoes, apples, grapes, wheat, barley, corn, sunflower seeds, diesel oil, gasoline, and so on. Public transportation vehicles are used as private ones and every run they make with goods something will be taken for home but this is still considered "petty theft." We frequently hear things such as, "Come on, it's all the same to the TKZS." If we were to imagine this pile of goods in the yard of a farmer and tell the neighbors, "Come on and take as much as you like," would anything remain and would this not be felt by the farmer? I think that he would jump like a raging tiger to defend these goods for the sake of his family.

The time has come to impose severe punishments. Was it any easier in the past for a thief to be run through the village with the municipal drummer beating and shouting, "I stole thus and such." This measure appears to have been quite educational. Why is it that now, with such a high living standard and such high



technical and cultural standards and conscientiousness that such thefts are increasing rather than decreasing? It is considered just about "normal" to steal something from the public and bring it home.

If only those who gave their lives for this beautiful present could rise from their graves they would have dealt most sternly with such thieves and plunderers of public property.

Do such people not exist today? They do exist! Using serious legal measures, they could put an end to such bad occurrences in our life. A great deal has been accomplished on such matters. However, even more should be done, more tangibly.

At this point, it would be adequate honestly to mention our dulled vigilance as party members. We keep silent in order to be good boys. However, we frequently remain silent also because not everything with us as well is clean. We too have dipped into the public honey. We pretend that this is a petty matter, that one thing or another was "procured," and that we paid for it. The fact that not everyone could "procure" it does not bother us. Like many party members I am bothered by the fact that we belong to the generation of youth league and party members who were taught by the party to be honest, truthful, and open, to love truth and to struggle for its triumph. We do not remain silent at party meetings. We boldly criticize our shortcomings. However, as a comrade told me, "When you tell the truth you make enemies." To a certain extent he is right, for after criticizing some comrades, his relatives would stop me on the street and demand an explanation for my statement at the party meeting. Would one dare to criticize after that? I do but other comrades who may depend on other people do not dare to do so. They keep silent and, like robots, raise their hands only to those in favor of one or another motion.

Here is a case from our recent party meeting at which the report submitted by Comrade Todor Zhivkov to the 4 and 5 November plenum was read. The second item on the agenda was the election of delegates for the party conference, since this was not done at the annual accountability meeting. Three comrades were nominated to the proposals commission. The comrade secretary walked from the business podium to the first row and gave a piece of paper to two comrades, and that was all. They did not go out for consultations but leaned closer to each other and made the motion as written on the paper. The candidates included the entire party bureau, an active fighter, and a storekeeper. A comrade stood up and suggested that the list of delegates include production workers from the craftsmen cooperative. However, both the rejection and the motion were voted in such a way that the people listed on the paper were left in and the production worker was not elected.

There is more. We have allowed so far our meetings to be held occasionally without a quorum only for the sake of reporting to our superiors that the work was done and that the meeting was held. The minutes would list the number of those present and since it is a figure it is easily amended. Who are we lying to, comrades? And who is learning how to lie in order to excuse those who are undisciplined? It is we, the communists. I was in charge of recording the minutes of the meeting and it is not the only one at which I began to put down the number of those present when the secretary tore off the sheet and told me what figure

to put down. Otherwise, he said, the meeting would not be legal yet it had to be held. I obeyed but spent a sleepless night. I spent an entire week like a sick person for having acted against my own conscience. I considered writing a letter to Comrade Todor Zhivkov himself but calmed myself down with the thought that we had elected a new secretary. I am afraid that things may continue as of old. I thought this in connection with the holding of the actual accountability meeting of the party and people's control commission, attended by 25 people. The trade union commission of the council held its meeting with 13 out of 31 members. And all this is taking place after we were informed of Comrade Todor Zhivkov's report. Is this not a case of formalism in our work which is continuing even after the report?

The same occurs with the training. Classes are held with those who attend while those who skip classes are not held accountable. I leave it up to you to assess the truthfulness of the accountability cards submitted.

Comrades, in the course of our statements at party meetings we discuss problems in which the members of the party organization in the TK25 are knowledgeable, such as the growing of beans, vegetables, and so on. Other discuss in their statements weaknesses in trade, goods which are given to relatives and friends, and goods sold under the counter. They state that it would be nice not to have empty containers under the counters. The school party organizations deals with the same problems. My question is this: is such a combination of people correct? Our village has three party organizations. We have a village party committee with a full time party secretary. Would it not be better to assemble the party members of all three party organizations to hear Comrade Todor Zhivkov's report? It would be better, henceforth, to summon us to read the bulletins. We have a large hall in the public reading room house. It could contain all of us. It is here that municipal meetings were being held, when we were a municipality. Now the municipal center of the conurbation system is the town of Dunavtsi. Honestly, both the peasants and we, the communists, were quite dissatisfied with this decision.

Let me now speak of the Fatherland Front and the Komsomol.

For the past few year (quite a number of them by now) I cannot recall the existence of a primary Fatherland Front organization (even though we have more than one district). We do not have a single Fatherland Front club in our village. At one point we had primary organizations which did good work. We held meetings at which we allocated materials in short supply such as tiles and cement (and clothing, when it was still rationed), passed decisions at sessions, organized reading groups, recruited people at the peak times of the season to work in the farm, recruiting particularly the retired, and so on and so forth. It is true that some of the old problems no longer exist. However, is there nothing that the primary organizations can do today? They could do a great deal of work but we have put a distance between us and the people. Do you know, comrades, that in the last elections for people's councils our people voted by dropping into the ballot box the envelopes which were issued to them without knowing for whom they were voting? who is to be blamed for this and should this have been allowed? Is this the way the working people participate in management? It is a good thing that our people are good and that their faith in the party is strong. The people do not ignore everything which the party is doing for their prosperity in peace.

The toiling people deserve profound respect but we, who are close to them, are perhaps not sufficiently respectful.

In order that the work of the Fatherland Front be improved I suggest that once again its ranks be tightened up from top to bottom and that a renewal take place in the work of the primary organizations, together with the people, in all matters, rather than away from the people. Whenever the birth of a baby or a marriage is celebrated, or when the death of someone is mourned we, the communists and the Fatherland Front, must be present, with the people.

Let me speak of the Komsomol, our future replacement of highly educated and trained people. It is we, once again, who must bear a certain share of the blame for the weaknesses in raising these young people. Our contribution to their strengthening and growth is either little or, in some places, none. Our Komsomol members in the village have their own club where they meet and carry out their assignments. Before 9 September 1944 the RMS had such assignments. It carried out its work on the level of the period. Now, in our century of technology and highlevel education, even more important problems must be resolved. The RMS had a very important task which was carried out most conscientiously: the training of young people for the party, among the best, the most loyal and the most dedicated, once they had reached the proper age. Currently, for the past year or two, our primary party organization has not accepted a single new member. Is this proper? Are we not to be blamed? Unquestionably, we are. However, is someone taking us to task? No, for the sake of not spoiling relations. Yet, who are the production leaders? It is the young. Who are those who fly into outer space? Again the young, and so on, and so forth. There are also young people who do not like to work but like to spend money. The fault is again ours--of the parents. We feel very sorry for them but fail to understand that with such an attitude we are hindering them in their development and are not helping them.

One must begin with the family and then the school must follow. Once the parents took their children to the fields to work. However, they taught them from a tender age to work. They would carry water to the harvesters, they would weave rope from wheat stalks, they would graze the oxen, they would carry the sheaves in the evening, they would feed the chicks and the hogs at home, they would cook the beans....

Such was the situation in those difficult times. Now they are born under the lucky star of a happy life paid for with the blood of many people. They are unfamiliar with those difficulties and this is good. Let our scientists, writers and other men of culture more frequently remind them of the past through their works, so that they may protect and value the benefits of the present. Our socialist family must find a role here. It is within the family that the training for labor must begin and a vocational guidance must be given without belittling any kind of labor. The production of bread, milk, eggs, vegetables and other goods is no worse than the building of machines. Everyone must be fed if he is to work. The rest can be done by the school. The young generation must participate in labor not only by letting their parents work but must help their parents themselves.

Let those who are wiser than we do something in this respect. A great deal has been done and is being done to make the young work with their parents and with the best production workers, so that they may grow up healthy and trained in handling difficulties, as highly educated and comprehensively developed individuals so that they can carry out any assignment anywhere. The old participation in the pain has long been forgotten. Today labor has truly become a song, happy and gladdening the heart.

At this point we should mention the problem of supplying the young with housing. Comrade Todor Zhivkov has reflected this quite accurately in his report. It is true that both connections and bribery are considered and used. In order to put an end to such negative phenomena I suggest that the commissions in charge of reviewing and categorizing the needs of the young families include from three to five people representing those who need housing. They would be most knowledgeable in assessing real needs, for some commissions are chaired by old bachelors who have two-room apartments. Could such people be fair in their assessments? No!

My suggestion on the problem of the execution of decisions is to go back to the old practice of reading at party meetings the decisions passed by the previous meeting--the minutes--and that reports on their implementation be submitted. At that point those who have failed to carry out their obligations should be taken to task. If such failures are due to objective reasons the people should be helped and their deadline for carrying out their assignment should be extended. Otherwise, there would always be a discrepancy between words and actions. In order to eliminate such weaknesses in the various sectors of our life it may indeed be proper "to make some leading cadres put on different hats," or, as some comrades here in the village say, "the water comes out of the spring clear but by the time it has reached us it is somewhat muddy and still." This means that there is quite a number of cadres who have eaten and drunk well and have used their official position and have led immoral lives leading to the weaknesses described in Todor Zhivkov's report.

The question is, could such cadres be turned around and follow an entirely different but proper direction and promote the work? Have such harmful habits become a firm part of their personalities? Would they be able honestly to acknowledge them and to shake off these weaknesses? There is a difference between waiting in line for something and having it brought to your home, when it is something not available to all.

In frequent cases connections and positions have settled problems of residency, vacation cottages, apartments, and so on. Many vacation homes, houses, and others have been built with materials taken from public construction projects. However, since this is done by people stronger than "lions," as our farmers say, who would dare to tell it to them straight in their eyes or correct the situation?

Comrade Todor Zhivkov is quite accurate and wise. His report covers every sector of our life. He has honestly told the truth concerning both achievements and weaknesses. The people love him because he does not conceal weaknesses. He has filled our hearts with sincerity and has made it possible for us to engage in bold and truthful criticism.



I suggest that high-level cadres visit us more frequently, from the okrug committee all the way to the Central Committee. I remember that at one point okrug secretaries attended village and obshtina meetings, such as Comrades Velko Semkov, Stoyan Stoyanov, Andrey Stoyanov and Simeon Bezhev. However, for the past 4 or 5 years the rank and file party members, the people, the cooperative farmers in the fields are not visited by people above the obshtina level. It is as though the closeness between leaders and working people has diminished. This could be corrected. The Central Committee has people who could come to see us on many occasions and for many reasons. The situation has reached the point that all local leaders were summoned to Dunavtsi, which is our obshtina center (to report on the competition in honor of the 9 September 1980 ceremony), while here, in Archar Village, with its old traditions of celebrating its great holiday, there was no one. Was it not possible for our comrades to hold a meeting in honor of this great anniversary 1 or 2 days ahead, to organize an afternoon celebration with music, so that our population would not forget that this is the holiday of freedom, and so that we would not be asked, "What did you do with our freedom holiday? Did you forget it?"

With this type of working method what happens to the esthetic education of the people?

Comrade Todor Zhivkov is quite right on the subject of evaluations when party documents are replaced. Many comrades like to drink heavily, use their official position, or justify a "flirtation" with someone else yet claim that "even then one could have an ideally good family," and so on. Such comrades have not been criticized for the same old reason of "Let us not spoil relations."

Finally, let me mention cooperation based on our fraternal friendship with the socialist countries and, above all, the Soviet Union.

Anyone, should such a person exist, who fails to see the light of the guiding star on the Kremlin, of Lenin's great Soviet Union, our double liberator and brother helping us in all our projects, would be blind.

One must always and in everything feel great love, loyalty and respect for the great Bolshevik party.

Our friendship with all socialist countries must be strengthened and broadened even further. This is truly being done by our leaders, the party and the people.

I have shared my thoughts, viewpoints and suggestions frankly, like a communist, with a feeling for performing my social duty and the desire to contribute to the best possible solution of the problems which face our development.

It is up to you to determine those among them which would be worthy of publication and which could be used by the BCP Central Committee in drafting the materials and documents for our 12th BCP Congress.

I can see that the obligation you have assumed in our newspaper RABOTNICHESKO DELO to publish materials or submit them to the BCP Central Committee for its use is being carried out.

I, the rank and file party member Todorka Todorova Kamberova, from Archar Village, Vidin Okrug, wish all of you fruitful work.

I concede the truth of the remark of my mate that my letter is very long, that it should have more specific suggestions and raise no more than one or two problems, or that you will not read it, you will not print it, and so on.

I believe, however, that you will read my letter, will delete what has to be deleted, but will also take what is useful. I feel good having discussed with you many problems which affect me. Once again, I wish you fruitful work.

The editors hope that this letter will provide the occasion for many readers of this party organ to formulate suggestions, share their thoughts and ideas, and express their views on problems of our socioeconomic and social development in the days preceding the 12th party congress.

5003

CSO: 2200



GRUENEBERG-LED DELEGATION VISITS LEBANON, SYRIA

SED Lebanese CP Communique

East Berlin HORIZONT in German Vol 13 No 52, 1980 signed to press 22 Dec 80  
pp 8, 10

[Communique datelined Beirut, 22 Nov 80: "SED-Lebanese CP Relations Intensified--  
Joint Communique on the Visit of an SED Central Committee Delegation to the  
Republic of Lebanon"]

[Text] On the invitation by the LCP, an SED Central Committee delegation led by  
Politburo member and Central Committee secretary Gerhard Grueneberg was in Lebanon  
from 17 to 22 November 1980.

LCP Chairman Nicolas Chaoui and LCP Central Committee General Secretary Georges  
Haoui received Gerhard Grueneberg and the delegation accompanying him for a  
fraternal exchange of views which took place in an open-minded and comradely  
atmosphere. The conversation partners discussed basic issues in the international  
class conflict and the status and prospects of relations between their two parties.

The head of the SED delegation brought cordial regards from SED Central Committee  
General Secretary Erich Honecker for the leading representatives of the fraternal  
Lebanese party, and their response to them was equally cordial.

I

The representatives of the two parties gave their special attention to the present  
situation in the Near East. Georges Haoui and Gerhard Grueneberg expressed their  
concern about the exacerbation of the situation in the Near and Middle East.

They interpreted it as the direct result of imperialism's global strategy and  
its continuing aggressive acts against the Arab countries and the denial of  
the legitimate national rights to the Arab people of Palestine. It is expressed  
by the policy, established at Camp David, of creating aggressive political-mili-  
tary alliances directed against the national independence of the countries in the  
Near and Middle East and against the national liberation movements in that region.  
They reiterated their conviction that the road to a just and permanent peace in  
the Near East required a comprehensive solution in conformity with the interests

of all sides, including those of the Palestinian people. Indispensably prerequisite to it are the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied in 1967 and the implementation of the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to self-determination and the formation of an independent state of its own, as well as guarantees for the security and sovereignty of all states in this region.

The SED and LCP express their deep conviction that the policy established at Camp David fails to establish a just and permanent peace in this region. It aims at reinforcing the influence of U.S. imperialism in the Near and Middle East, trampling underfoot by so-called autonomy rules the interests of the Palestinian people, liquidating the achievements of the national liberation movement in the Arab region, and attaching the Near and Middle East to imperialism's military-political pact system. The Camp David accords have indeed escalated the tensions in the Near and Middle East. They have encouraged Israel to annex East Jerusalem and proclaim the whole city the "eternal" capital of Israel.

Both sides condemn the bolstering of an American military presence in the Near East and in the Gulf region, reflected by setting up a system of military bases, the gigantic concentration of naval units and the creation of the so-called rapid employment force.

Under the pretext of an alleged threatening danger, the stationing of so-called rapid employment troops is being launched, by which U.S. imperialism, here as elsewhere in the world, seeks to regain lost positions and spheres of influence to halt any further advance of the anti-imperialist and democratic forces. Especially after the triumph of the April 1978 revolution in Afghanistan, the overthrow of the hated Shah regime and the people's revolution in Iran, imperialism has more noticeably activated its designs.

Incalculable also are the designs by the aggressive U.S. circles to exploit the armed conflict between Iraq and Iran for their antiprogressive plans and intentions. The SED and LCP hold the view that, on behalf of the preservation of world peace and of securing the rights of the peoples, it is urgently necessary to settle this conflict by political means at once, through negotiations between the two sides involved.

In view of the escalation in the activities by imperialism, Zionism and the rest of reaction, meaning to turn back the wheel of history in this region, the conversation partners underscore the need to solidify still more the ranks of the anti-imperialist forces and deepen further their cooperation and alliance with the Soviet Union and the other states in the socialist community, the natural and most loyal allies of the peoples struggling for national and social liberation.

The representatives of the SED and the LCP pay tribute to the positive role of the steadfastness and resistance front in frustrating the expansionist designs of imperialism and its henchmen, mainly in turning back the plot of Camp David. They emphasize especially in this connection the great importance of the Soviet-Syrian friendship and cooperation treaty of 8 October 1980. They are deeply convinced this treaty between the main force of socialism and one of the leading countries

in the Arab world serves the defense against the imperialist and Zionist plans and the consolidation of peace and of detente. It provides the peoples' struggle against imperialism and neocolonialism, and for independence and freedom, with effective support. The representatives of both parties furthermore pay tribute to the friendship and cooperation treaties the Soviet Union and the GDR have signed with the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen as a positive contribution to enforcing the same goals.

The communists in the GDR and Lebanon welcome the important achievements of the African peoples in their struggle against imperialism and neocolonialism, and for social progress. They express the high appreciation the victory of the Zimbabwe people enjoys in their two countries and they proclaim their solidary support for the national liberation struggle of the people of Namibia and for the struggle of the people of South Africa against their fascist racist regime.

The two delegations underscore the inseparable connection between the anti-detente activities of imperialism for regaining lost positions in the Near and Middle East and in Africa on the one side and its worldwide efforts to torpedo detente, on the other side. They view the struggle of the peoples in this area for their political and economic independence from imperialism and for creating a just and comprehensive peace as an inseparable component of the joint struggle of the workers movement and the national liberation movement against imperialism and for social progress.

They consequently rebuff the course of the most aggressive circles of imperialism, especially of NATO, which is aimed at changing the military equilibrium through an escalation of the arms race and the introduction of increasingly more dangerous weapons systems for their benefit. They rigorously oppose NATO's missile resolutions of Brussels, the new nuclear directive of the U.S. Administration, and the employment of U.S. forces of intervention, the establishing of new military bases and the concentration of imperialist naval forces in the Indian Ocean and contiguous regions and in the Caribbees. In the adventurous course of confrontation by the imperialist and other reactionary forces they find the cause for the worsening of the world situation at the threshold into the 1980's. All attempts those forces undertake to make it plausible to a world audience that the solidary support by the Soviet Union in destroying the imperialist counterrevolution in Afghanistan was the cause for the exacerbation of the international situation aim at disguising the true causes for the present situation. Both parties reiterate their full support for the Afghan revolution and for the internationalist aid the Soviet Union has provided and is providing for revolutionary Afghanistan. They declare their solidarity with the peoples of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the People's Democratic Republic of Laos. They likewise stand by the side of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and support it in realizing its claim to assuming its legitimate place in the United Nations and other international bodies.

They rigorously condemn the hegemonism and big power chauvinism of the present Peking leadership, which has now openly joined the camp of the enemies of socialism, its harmful proimperialist policy showing up everywhere, including the Near East and the Gulf region. Fully aware of the danger in the course conducted by the reactionary imperialist circles and Peking hegemonists toward increasing international tension and engaging in dangerous war policy, the conversation

partners are yet convinced they will not achieve their goals. They are sure the forces of socialism, democracy and national liberation have now greater potentials than ever for frustrating the plans of imperialism and reaction. The SED and LCP will continue to make their active contribution to it in the future.

As they realize that detente in international relations meets with the very own interests of the peoples and helps create favorable conditions for social progress, both delegations underscore the urgent need to end the arms race and supplement political detente by effective armament limitation measures. They support the recommendations submitted in the declaration of the May 1980 meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee on concrete steps for reducing international tension, continuing and deepening the detente policy, containing the arms race, respecting the peoples' independence and improving the relations between states with differing social orders. For there is no alternative for the policy of peaceful coexistence.

Both parties attribute crucial importance to the reduction of military tension in order to advance the enforcement of the peaceful coexistence principles. They welcome the holding of the Madrid conference and are of the view that the discussion of the military aspects of European security is of great importance. The SED and LCP therefore advocate concrete determinations regarding the summoning of a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe. Both sides are convinced that successes in the field of military detente and disarmament on the European continent would have positive effects on the whole world situation.

## II

In the course of the comradely exchange of views, Gernard Grueneberg informed the LCP delegation about the creative activities of the communists and all the people in the GDR in preparing the 10th SED Congress. He reported on the various initiatives by the working people for strengthening the material-technical base of socialism, further raising economic growth and improving labor productivity. A stable growth rate for economic efficiency is a crucial basis for further consolidating socialism in the GDR and insuring the SED course that is aimed at the people's well-being, full employment and stability.

Furthermore Gerhard Grueneberg explained the GDR's active contribution to consolidating world peace, developing international cooperation, and supporting the peoples' struggle for freedom and independence.

The head of the SED delegation furthermore reported about the development of GDR-FRG relations. The GDR seeks good neighborly relations with the FRG on the basis of the peaceful coexistence principles. Gerhard Grueneberg referred to the continuing attempts by the FRG to encumber the relations with the GDR by violating decisive principles of sovereignty as contained in the treaties concluded between the two states. That concerns, above all, the FRG's nonrecognition of GDR citizenship. That conception, running counter to international law, and written into the FRG's Basic Law, burdens the relations between the GDR and FRG. The normalization of relations between the two German states is in the interest of the peoples of these countries and to a high degree affects the further consolidation of the detente process in Europe.



Gerhard Grueneberg affirmed that the GDR therefore was willing and ready to contribute to the normalization of these relations on the basis of the principles of international law as normally observed between sovereign states.

The leading LCP representative paid tribute to the SED's struggle for enforcing the peaceful coexistence principles in the relations between the socialist GDR and the imperialist FRG as an important contribution to peace, security and detente in Europe.

Georges Haoui informed the SED delegation extensively about the situation in Lebanon, presenting in detail the objectives and policies of the various political forces in the country. Doing so, he pointed to various attempts by domestic and foreign reaction to further destabilize the situation in Lebanon whereby to enforce the country's willingness to go along with the separatist policy of Camp David.

He explained the LCP policy in implementation of its fourth party congress, aimed at frustrating the plans of imperialism and reaction and moving the country toward the democratic alternative. The focal point was its struggle to create a broad anti-imperialist, antifascist, democratic front and ever closer cooperation between Lebanon's progressive and patriotic forces and the PLO as well as Syria. He reported on the advances the LCP had made in transforming itself into a true mass party.

Gerhard Grueneberg emphasized the appreciation the SED had for the sacrificial struggle by the Lebanese communists against the imperialist intrigues in Lebanon and for the national and social interests of the working people in the country. He expressed the SED's solidarity with the struggle of the LCP in alliance with the other national and progressive forces against Israeli aggression and for the unity, independence and territorial integrity of Lebanon and its democratic development.

### III

The SED and LCP advocate the consolidation of the unity and cohesiveness of the communist world movement based on Marxism-Leninism and on proletarian internationalism. They advocate close cooperation with the CPSU. They continue to attach great importance to deepening relations between their two parties. The SED and LCP deem it necessary to activate the joint struggle of the three main revolutionary currents of our times against imperialism and for social progress.

While the SED delegation was in Lebanon, an accord was signed on shaping the relations between the SED and the LCP for 1981/1982. Gerhard Gruenberg expressed thanks for the fraternal reception and hospitality the LCP extended to the SED delegation.

Grueneberg on Mid-East Problems

East Berlin HORIZONT in German Vol 13 No 51, 1980 signed to press 15 Dec 80 pp 4-5

[Interview with Gerhard Grueneberg, SED Politburo member and Central Committee secretary (date and place not given): "Solidarity Alliance Strengthened"]

[Text] [Question] You have already visited several countries in the Near and Middle East. Can you inform our readers about the concerns and results of the recent visit by an SED Central Committee delegation led by you in Lebanon and Syria?

[Answer] I should like to point to the SED Program which says that our party actively promotes a close GDR alliance with the peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America struggling against imperialism and neocolonialism. It develops friendly, mutually advantageous relations with them. It promotes close cooperation and solidarity with them.\* Those program goals have traditionally subsumed our activities dealing with the states in the Near and Middle East. That also was the concern of the SED Central Committee delegation visiting Lebanon and Syria from 17 to 28 November 1980. The peoples in those countries as well as the Palestinian people are engaged in heroic struggle against imperialism, Zionism and the forces of reaction in that region.

There has long been no secret anymore that common views on basic questions of our times form a sound basis for the already high degree of relations the GDR maintains with the two states referred to and with the PLO.

If you are asking me about the results of the visit by the party's Central Committee delegation I headed, I should refer you to the joint communiques between the SED and the LCP and between our party and the Arab Socialist Baath Party in Syria, worked out as the result of an extensive exchange of opinion and experience. They unequivocally reveal the joint positions of our parties on important international issues and on problems in developing bilateral relations. In the accords signed during the visit with the LCP and the Syrian Communist Party, the cooperation between the fraternal parties in various fields was agreed on for 1981 and 1982.

These most revealing talks with the highest representatives and other leading representatives of Lebanon, Syria and the PLO--of this I am convinced--have contributed to an improved mutual understanding of the given conditions of struggle in our countries. The visit has strengthened our solidarity alliance with those forces in the Near East that advocate a comprehensive, fair and permanent settlement of the Near East conflict.

[Question] Having conducted the talks with the leading representatives of the two states, how does the current situation in the Near and Middle East appear to you? Is it correct to speak of an exacerbation of the situation in that region and, if so, what in your view has brought this about?

[Answer] Our visits in Lebanon and Syria and the talks we conducted there have confirmed our assessment that the region of the Near and Middle East continues as a dangerous hotbed of conflict. I should put it more clearly still: Because

\*Cf. "Programm der SED," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 87.



of the intensified course of aggression by U.S. imperialism and its accomplice Israel, the danger that the extremely conflict-bearing and explosive situation might lead to another war has by no means been banned.

Why may one properly say today that the situation in the Near and Middle East has perceptibly escalated? First this: The expansive and peace-endangering confrontation course of imperialism does not bypass this strategically important region in the world. This is demonstrated by:

(1) The drastic escalation of the U.S. military presence in the Gulf area, the Indian Ocean, the Mediterranean, and the establishing of new military bases. Here I would like to make the point that the United States has gone from a temporary presence to a permanent stationing of its armed forces in this area.

Of far-reaching importance in this context are the most recent proposals by the Soviet Union for peace and security in the Gulf region, as submitted in a speech before deputies of the Indian parliament by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR Comrade Leonid Brezhnev.

(2) The creation of a so-called rapid deployment force. Some of these units, with a total strength of 1,400 men, held large-scale maneuvers in the Arab region late in November 1980. This force "intervenes," yet not to protect the "national interests" of the United States but rather to suppress the national liberation movement of the Arab peoples, implement the world domination plans of U.S. imperialism, and secure important raw material supplies and the profit interests of the U.S. monopolies. They ultimately want to change the power balance in a region where they have suffered sensitive defeats in the past to their advantage.

(3) Continuing the notorious imperialist "divide and rule" policy.

The Camp David separatist accords unequivocally aim at trading concessions between some Arab states and the aggressor Israel at the expense of the other Arab states and on behalf of the imperialist global strategy. The U.S. monopolies know quite well why they want to put up 15 to 20 billion dollars in the 1980's for implementing the separatist accords of Camp David.

(4) The protracted occupation of Arab territories by Israel and the establishing of a growing number of so-called "defense settlements."

With massive U.S. support (since 1948, \$ 32 billion in economic and military aid), Israel is making the attempt, in contravening international law, at attaching stolen Arab regions to the Zionist state federation by force of arms. While visiting the Golan Heights we witnessed this egregious colonial policy and a policy of Israel much like the scorched earth policy as Hitler fascism had practiced it.

(5) Stronger efforts by imperialism to suppress the struggle by the Palestinian people for the realization of its legitimate rights and break PLO resistance against the expulsion of a whole people from its homeland.

(6) The constant hypocrisy by the U.S. imperialists and their allies about human rights and humanitarianism. Yet they are the ones who exacerbate and inflame the situation in the various regions in the world. That also includes the continuing export of arms to that region and the kindling of conflicts among the states in the Near and Middle East.

The main reason for the escalation of its aggressive policy in the Arab region is that imperialism does not want to reconcile itself to the defeats it has suffered. Rather, U.S. imperialism seeks to obtain a position of supremacy in this important region, the southern border of the Soviet Union, while cloaking these expansive designs with the demagogic pretense that this amounted to protecting the "national interests of the United States."

[Question] You mentioned the separate accords of Camp David. What role does Syria play in rejecting the Camp David policy? How do you assess in this connection the signing of the Soviet-Syrian friendship and cooperation treaty?

[Answer] First one must say Syria no doubt belongs among the most important Arab states today. Its geographic location illuminates the high place value that country holds in this region. Decisive for answering your question, however, is the foreign policy course of the Syrian government.

Syria is a respected member of the movement of nonaligned states and has for many years pursued a foreign policy aimed at the preservation of peace, the safeguarding of the peoples' security, disarmament and detente. Thus Syria, after the separate accords of Camp David were made, belonged among the initiators of the anti-imperialist steadfastness and resistance front of some Arab states and the PLO.

The foreign policy conducted by the General Secretary of the Arab Socialist Baath Party and President of the Syrian Arab Republic Comrade Hafiz al-Assad unequivocally opposes the imperialist policy of intervention and Tel Aviv's policy of aggression and pursues the aim to bring about a just, permanent and comprehensive peace settlement in the Near and Middle East, on behalf of the peoples in this region and in the interest of world peace. This policy has the unlimited and solidary support of the GDR. The USSR and Syria signed a friendship and cooperation treaty in Moscow on 8 October 1980. After the exchange of ratification documents in Damascus, the treaty came into effect on 2 December.

This treaty cannot be overrated, I believe, especially at the present highly tense international situation and the explosive situation in the Near and Middle East. I say this not only because any friendship treaty with the main force of real socialism, the Soviet Union, is of great importance. I am stressing it also because of my own experience of the GDR's irrevocable friendship and close cooperation with the Soviet Union for more than three decades now. We know quite well how much to appreciate the value of treaties with the first socialist state in the world.

Today, when U.S. imperialism seeks to regain lost positions and spheres of influence in the Near and Middle East by all means, more and more also by military ones, special importance attaches to strengthening all forces that oppose the

imperialist gunboat policy. That is the main aspect under which I view the signing of the Soviet-Syrian treaty. We regard this treaty, aimed at the further development and strengthening of friendship and cooperation in the political, economic, military, scientific-technical and cultural fields between the USSR and one of the most important countries in the Arab world, as highly relevant and historically extremely important. The spirit and letters of this treaty serve peace, international security and detente.

We fully agree with the opinion of the Syrian state president, Comrade Hafiz al-Assad, when, in an interview on 6 December, he called the treaty a "source of strength for all Arabs, not only for Syria, in their struggle against Zionist expansion."

The USSR-Syrian friendship treaty responds to the very own interests of the Arab peoples. It is a response to the policy of the separate accords and an important contribution to the struggle against those circles that still have not abandoned their goal of creating a "Large Israel" from the Euphrates to the Nile. The treaty strengthens all forces fighting for permanent peace and security in that region.

[Question] How do you judge your talks with the LCP and the leading representatives of Lebanon?

[Answer] The SED Central Committee delegation was in Lebanon on the invitation from the LCP Central Committee. Traditional fraternal relations have existed between the SED and the LCP for years, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and of proletarian internationalism.

The most recent discussions between the SED Central Committee delegation and the LCP Central Committee delegation led by its General Secretary Comrade Georges Haoui have continued that tradition and further strengthened and deepened our relations.

The opinion and experience exchange dealt with bilateral as well as international matters. Our special attention of course was given to the exacerbation of the international situation, in Europe as well as in the Near and Middle East, as caused by the United States and some of its NATO allies. I may say there was a full agreement of views between both parties in judging the dangers that have arisen from imperialism's course of confrontation and the policy of the Peking hegemonists, for peace and security. The comrades of the LCP supported without reservation the proposals submitted by the Warsaw Pact states in May this year for opposing this dangerous course and for continuing the policy of detente and disarmament as a constructive offer by the socialist countries toward understanding, in the interest of peace and on behalf of the peoples and of a recovery in the political climate all over the world.

Our two parties also agree in assessing the more tense situation in the Near and Middle East since the Camp David accords. Both sides stress the need to intensify uniform action by the Arab peoples in the interest of peace and security in the region. The situation in the region affects the situation in Lebanon directly. In the talks with President Sarkis, Prime Minister Wazzan, President of Parliament Kamal al-Assad, Foreign Minister Butrus, and representatives of the National

Progressive Movement, the LCP included, I have gained the conviction that each Lebanese patriot wishes nothing more fervently than an end to the continued acts of aggression by Israel against Lebanon. All conversation partners affirmed to us they were in favor of Lebanon's national unity, territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty.

The GDR feels a solidarity alliance with such just endeavors. All Lebanese politicians paid high tribute to the attitude of the GDR people and the GDR's advocacy of a just settlement of the Palestinian problem. During our stay in Lebanon we were confirmed in our opinion that the LCP today is a decisive force in the struggle for the unity of all national and progressive forces in the country. It resolutely advocates a fighting alliance with the PLO and takes an active part in armed resistance against Israeli aggression.

[Question] Could you possibly give us some ideas about the Palestine problem and its solution?

[Answer] The vast majority of the world public stands in solidarity by the side of the Arab people of Palestine and supports its legitimate demands for recognizing its claim to self-determination and the forming of a sovereign state of its own. Even politicians in Western Europe are beginning to understand that without a fair settlement of the Palestine problem there can be no permanent peace in the Near East. A few years ago it seemed the United States too would abandon its destructive course in this matter, when it adopted a declaration, jointly with the USSR, on 1 October 1977, that exhibited certain positive tendencies in the U.S. attitude. Unfortunately, the Carter Administration, 2 days later already, broke its word and proceeded toward separate accords which then, as one knows, led to the Camp David agreements and to negotiations on an autonomy for Western Jordan between Egypt and Israel. They foundered on the resistance by the Arab peoples, especially by the Palestinian people under PLO leadership. Now new designs are being put together. Whatever variants may be presented by the United States and its allies in the Near East, they will not be apt to bring about a solution for the Palestine problem as long as insufficient attention is given to the prerequisites of principle, and they are: The withdrawal of the Israeli occupiers from all Arab areas occupied in 1967; insuring the self-determination right of the Palestinian people including its right to form an independent state of its own; and a security guarantee for all states in the Near and Middle East.

Together with the USSR, the other states in the socialist community and all other progressive forces, the GDR advocates this realistic and reasonable position. Our full solidarity continues to be pledged to the Palestinian people which, under the leadership of its sole legitimate representative, the PLO, is conducting a sacrificial struggle for making its rights prevail.

5885

CSO: 2300



## OMISSION OF ROMANIAN SCIENTISTS FROM LAROUSSE CHART DEPLORED

Bucharest SAPTAMINA in Romanian 30 Jan 81 p 8

[Article by Liviu Petrina: "Trailblazers"]

[Excerpts] Romanians have made great contributions to world science. On the foundation of the celebrated "Dacian wall," over the milleniums which followed, there were built many other exceptional scientific achievements, many of them constituting the bases for science or scientific disciplines, discoveries which brought about epochal strides in the knowledge of the universe and of human beings. In the world history of sciences, Romanians are entitled to have a place of honor.

However, in a chart on scientific and technical discoveries published in the Larousse encyclopedic dictionary, not a single Romanian is mentioned! Does this chart reflect reality? Obviously not. The ignorance of Romanian merits implicitly impoverishes the thesaurus of humanity and this fact is regrettable and unacceptable; this is being done with a consistency which should give us food for thought and prompt us to take appropriate action. Therefore, it is our duty, as Romanian representatives of science, of academic, publishing, press, and educational forums to provide suitable information to the foreign scientific world and to public opinion in other countries so that the Romanian contribution to science and to human civilization will be known and recognized.

Socialist Romania is living in a period of dignity which permits it to set forth the worthwhile things which the Romanian people have produced over the ages. Especially, the cases which were the object of controversy or which were ignored in some circles of foreign specialists--I am referring to Vuia (who made the first air flight in the world, in an actual airplane, in 1906); Paulescu (the discoverer of insulin, in 1921); Maier (the discoverer and producer of the multiple telephone system on a single circuit, in 1906); Odobleja (the founder of cybernetics, in 1938)--should be treated immediately. There are technical and scientific fields, such as aviation, in which the Romanian contribution is so important--as a result of Vuia, Vlaicu, Coanda, Carafoli, etc.--that Bucharest would be the most appropriate place for the preparation of a history of world aviation, for example.

In August and September of this year, Romania will host the 16th international congress on the history of science. It is a patriotic duty and an obligation to world science that we take determined action to write and publish, in foreign

languages, also, comprehensive and clear documents which clearly show the priority position of the Romanian scientists so that the discoveries mentioned (and others) will be established, once and for all, to be those of sons of the Romanian people.

This imperative is not based on vanity or megalomania or solely on practical results--the strengthening of the technical-scientific credit of socialist Romania on the world level, which is translated into hard currency. It is based, first of all, on respect for the truth and on the need to establish an honest order in the history of the sciences, so as to contribute to the placing of relations among peoples on sound bases, with full respect for the merits of each one.

CSO: 2700



## ROMANIA

### PLANS FOR DEVELOPMENT OF HEALTH SECTOR OUTLINED BY MINISTER

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 18 Jan 81 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Prof. Dr Docent Eugen Proca, minister of health, by Maria Baboian]

[Text] [Question] For a start, please briefly point out the major achievements obtained in health care under the recently concluded five-year plan.

[Answer] In the first place, I will point out a fact that is known to all the citizens of this country: the economic and social accomplishments obtained under the 1976-1980 Five-Year Plan in all areas and the implementation of some long-range programs in the area of health care have assured a generally favorable context for the continuous upgrading of health services, reflected in the positive evolution of some demographic and morbidity indicators, in the continuous development of the material basis and staff in the health sector.

Proceeding from this material aspect, one may indicate that the dynamics of investment projects has been continuously showing an increase, from an annual average of 1.033 billion lei during the 1971-1975 period to more than 1.2 billion lei under the prior five-year plan. On this basis there has been a considerable expansion and diversification of the health care network: hospital accommodation has risen by the addition of more than 25,000 beds, totaling roughly 195,000 beds contained in 412 hospitals, 14.7 percent more than in 1975, with almost one-third in new, modern facilities.

It must also be pointed out that dispensaries-polyclinics have been expanded. Under the five-year plan 28 units, also located in new structures, were completed. This has significantly increased the prospects for meeting the demand for specialized health services. Because of the special effort to protect and promote workers' health, we now have 5,252 health dispensaries, including 1,400 attached to production units. The same period also saw the completion of new blood collection and storage centers, stomatologic centers and first-aid centers. A special emphasis on day-care centers for children: the number of beds went up from 70,000 in 1975 to more than 88,000. The expansion of health programs was based on and encouraged by the constantly growing appropriations for this sector: the budget for health care has continuously risen--

from 9.85 billion lei in 1975 to 14.60 billion lei in 1980 (and this year, 15.57 billion lei).

[Question] As far as we know, the Ministry of Health has forwarded to all health directorates the plan of technical-organizational measures on health care for this year -- the first year of the new five-year plan. In this context, what are the primary guidelines, the priority goals?

[Answer] In the overall-permanent context of upgraded health care, central concerns involve preventive medicine, improved quality of medical services in dispensaries, polyclinics, at the place of work, promotion of what is designated as "health care for the healthy person" -- in other words, implementation of a program that strengthens the condition of health of people, prevents morbidity and extends the active life span. Consequently, all the dispensaries will be capable of providing qualified medical assistance, so that practically there will be no dispensary without a physician.

Furthermore, steps are taken for the operation on an overall scale of the unified hospital-polyclinic system. This means that in all units physicians in polyclinics will also periodically work in hospital facilities and hospital physicians will also provide outpatient health services. This will result in the wiser utilization of the staff available, specifically involving certain specialities with shortages in some localities and health units, such as: radiology, obstetrics, ophthalmology, laboratory, pathological anatomy, and so forth. Hence, specialized health care will be upgraded.

By and large, prominent among priorities is upgraded outpatient care, an area where deficiencies -- which are deplored by the population with good reason -- are still found. In this field we place special emphasis on matters such as: fullest possible investigation of patients in dispensaries-polyclinics; extension of the home treatment capacity of ambulatory units in municipalities and towns; introduction of new paraclinic investigative procedures in clinical laboratories, standardization of laboratory methods and rationalization of investigations. Moreover, we will pay most attention to health care at the place of work, the wiser assignment of socialist units to health dispensaries, dispensaries-polyclinics and hospitals, for the purpose of boosting working people's accessibility to health care; ensuring of permanence in rural health services, concurrently with work schedules in dispensaries that fully meet the population's needs; organization of ambulatory services attached to communal hospitals.

[Question] How is the concern for best utilization of the existing material base -- major requirement of all the five-year plan -- reflected in the health care sector?

[Answer] Proceeding from the good results obtained in the area of impacting the chief health indicators but also from the realistic analysis of the deficiencies which, in some cases, prevent results of health care from matching the conditions provided to us, under this five-year plan we will mainly focus on the more sensible utilization of hospital capacity. A redistribution of

hospital beds in light of actual needs is in progress. Actually, it is a matter of a better assignment of beds by reducing the number of those for dwindling diseases -- and these are numerous -- and transferring them for use in specialized care where they are more needed, with concurrent elimination of unjustified hospitalizations -- such as those for simple X rays or routine tests which in some hospitals still are excessive.

Furthermore, we plan to ensure from domestic output the materials required for basic health care. Under a program worked out by the Ministry of Health in conjunction with the Ministries of the Machine Building Industry and the Chemical Industry, measures are taken so that starting this year the medical equipment and the health care materials for current use may be turned out in full and on an adequate level. Moreover, a research and design center under the Enterprise for Medical Technology was established.

[Question] Does this context include concern for a wiser use of pharmaceutical drugs?

[Answer] Certainly. From the outset I would like to specify that measures were taken so that pharmacies are supplied with the basic pharmaceuticals, with the emphasis on smooth supplies and a more sensible distribution. I also feel that the public would be interested to know that the Ministry of Health, with the assistance of the Ministry of Agriculture, is closely concerned with the diversification of the production of pharmaceuticals based on the utilization of native raw materials, specifically of medicinal herbs. Moreover, we have taken steps for the overall use of the extremely valuable experience of the 17 galenic laboratories attached to the county pharmaceutical offices, which, as a result of capitalizing on local resources, have managed to develop and turn out a wide range of small-volume products, that are very necessary therapeutically but are regarded as unprofitable by industry. Hence, micro-production of pharmaceuticals must be expanded in all the counties.

As for the best use of our pharmaceuticals, we emphasize that physicians, in prescribing the treatments indicated, explain to the patients the hazards of excessive medication, of overuse of drugs, or as it is called, "polypragmasia," which, instead of eliminating the disease, often severely affects the body. We must admit that it is a matter of educating the patients and even some of the physicians. That is why we point out a truth firmly demonstrated by experience, notably that no administration of a drug -- even as simple as are Aspirin or bicarbonate -- is without risks when it is excessive. Moreover, drugs are fully effective only in the context of supportive measures, which primarily depend on the patient and which involve a sensible nutrition, specific exercise, by and large, moderation and balance.

[Question] Among other things you mentioned sensible nutrition. Would you please elaborate?

[Answer] I would point out that Nicolae Ceausescu outlined as a special task in the economic area and especially in the area of health care, determining standards of rational nutrition for the Romanian population. These standards are now being formulated by the National Council for Science and Technology,

the Ministry of Health and the Department of Food Industry. We must be confident that compliance with such standards and principles is directly tied to the implementation of the party and government health policy, of protecting people's health by thus preventing and combating very many diseases caused by inadequate nutrition: atherosclerosis, diabetes, and so forth. In this context, there is a considerably enhanced role of health education programs, with which all the health staff must be involved.

[Question] Please briefly deal with some current matters in the area of training health personnel.

[Answer] First, a few figures: we now have a staff of 33,000 physicians and 6,800 stomatologists, almost 5,800 more than in 1975. To these will be added, in 1981, taking their posts at the place of assignments, the physicians from the first batch that completed one tour of duty in hospitals starting in 1978, as a new, superior form of training. Their presence will help to fully meet the needs in the general medicine network. This will also permit us to upgrade the specialized training and advancement of physicians -- this system will include about 15,000 physicians under this five-year plan. Moreover, in light of some shortcomings in terms of the number of medium-grade personnel in particular specialities, firm measures are being taken so that all medium-grade workers may directly assist the patients, according to their training, and not handle the paperwork; much attention is paid to upgrade their professional training. In line with the tradition in our country, we also have in mind other forms of training medium-grade personnel in the speciality of midwives, nurses, and so on.

In conclusion, I would like to point out that major objective which is constantly pertinent for all of us: striving to even more humanize all the facets of health care. We urge all those who have dedicated themselves to the noble profession of curing people to display not only knowledgeability, professional ethics, boundless devotion, and discipline, but also understanding, warmth, respect for the patient, a dignified attitude of strictness and self-discrimination, exemplary integrity and principledness in all circumstances, promotion of the noble principles of medical deontology.

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CSO: 2700



## BRIEFS

**NEWSPAPER REPORTS ON REAGAN**--On Tuesday at 1200 (Washington time) the new U.S. President, Ronald Reagan officially became head of the U.S. administration. In accordance with the constitution, Ronald Reagan took the oath as President of the United States before the chief justice at a ceremony held at the Capitol, the Congress headquarters. The ceremony was attended by members of the two houses of Congress, the Supreme Court, the old and new administration, and representatives of the diplomatic corps accredited to Washington. The 40th President of the United States was born on 6 February 1911 in Tampico, Illinois. He studied sociology, economics and drama at Eureka College in the same state. After working for a while as a reporter for a radio station in Des Moines (Iowa), he made a career in movies. He began his political activities in the Democratic Party, but joined the Republican Party in the sixties. In 1966 Ronald Reagan was elected Governor of California for the Republicans, a position in which he was reelected successively until 1975. After running in the preliminaries as Republican candidate for the Presidency in 1968 and 1976, he was nominated in 1979 for the Presidential elections of 4 November 1980. Ronald Reagan was elected President of the United States with 51 percent of votes and was named to the supreme executive function by 489 out of 538 electors. Ronald Reagan has been married since 1952 to Nancy Davis and has 4 children. [Text] [AU221048 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 21 Jan 81 p 6]

**CEAUSESCU'S BIRTHDAY**--Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 25 January devotes almost all of pages 1, 2, 3, most of page 4 and page 6 to Nicolae Ceausescu's birthday anniversary, featuring numerous pictures, poems, editorials and articles extolling Ceausescu's personality and achievements in domestic and foreign affairs. The last page also carries statements by foreign personalities praising Ceausescu's contributions to international developments. Bucharest LUMEA in Romanian No 4 on 22 January devotes pages 1-16 to Nicolae Ceausescu's achievements in both domestic and international realms under the general heading "Ceausescu-Romania." The first article is signed by Foreign Minister Stefan Andrei and bears the title "The Clear-Sightedness of a Policy of Independence, Peace and Cooperation," and deals with Romania's concept of international relations, security and cooperation in Europe, disarmament, detente, democratization of international relations, as formulated by President Nicolae Ceausescu. [AU261625 Editorial report]



#### ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF LCY PRESIDIUM APPRAISED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1567, 11 Jan 81  
pp 18-20

[Article by Stevan Niksic: "What the Presidium Had To Say About Itself"]

[Text] When at the last and 15th Meeting of the Central Committee the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee openly and self-critically evaluated its own activity over the previous year, this gesture went almost unnoticed. The more attentive observer might have found a pretext in this gesture for a very important conclusion: that this was a sincere evaluation, without "beating about the bush," of what was done, and represented a readiness to admit even possible oversights and to draw lessons from them.

The report on the year's work of the Presidium which was submitted to the Central Committee--and which the Central Committee accepted without discussion--pertained to a period in which the meetings of the Presidium were chaired by Stevan Doronjski, first as presiding member, and later, when the Operating Procedure was amended and the nature of his position was altered to some extent, as the chairman of the Presidium.

Fateful events occurred during that year from the fall of 1979 to the fall of 1980: the League of Communists lost Comrade Tito, who had been at the head of the party, political life in the country was crammed with events such as the culmination of economic contradictions and difficulties, completion of preparations to amend the SFRY Constitution, and abundant legislative activity.... The situation in the world became still more problematical and continued to become more complicated....

What was being done by the Yugoslav "party leadership" under those circumstances?

#### Authoritative Top Political Leadership

To gain a better understanding of what follows it is interesting to back up a bit the film of events. When back in the mid-sixties the reform of Yugoslav society began, Tito presented two important proposals. He advocated

democratization of personnel policy and election of younger people to official positions. But since he felt that the extensive program of reforms which had been announced had to be carried out faster, better and more consistently, he proposed the formation of a strong "party center."

This was the period between the eighth and ninth LCY congresses, when the executive body of the LCY Central Committee was made up mainly of younger men with less political experience. "The League of Communists needs a strong executive body of the Presidium, which will work on a collective basis and which will not be differentiated into the first, the second or the third," Tito said at the Ninth LCY Congress in 1969.

This idea of his to create authoritative and effective bodies of leadership in the republics and the Federation, bodies that would operate collectively, was one which he not only did not abandon to the end of his life, but indeed often stressed over the past decade. When the first experiences of the collective bodies at the top of the political pyramid proved to be good, he would often say, as he did for instance in the well-known interview with VIJESNIK (February 1976): "So, I could depart any day now and nothing would change."

The LCY Presidium, elected at the ninth congress, for the first time had a presiding member who would serve alongside the LCY president in directing the work of this collective body for a period of 1 year.

#### Criticism Addressed to Delegates

In the first year of the new Presidium, during the 1-year term of Branko Mikulic, the first experience was gained with the new pattern of operation. However, judging by the most recent report of the Presidium, even the 2 years following the congress were not enough to fully implement all the propositions concerning the role of the LCY in society as defined in the amendments and supplements to the LCY Bylaws and as elaborated in operating procedures. The situation pertaining to the work and activity of delegations, delegates and representatives of the LCY Central Committee and Presidium at the federal level would seem to be significant.

It is well known that certain members of the Central Committee and Presidium (73 members of these two bodies) are delegated to various institutions of the political system at the federal level (assemblies, councils ...) in which they are to fight for affirmation of the positions of their own "constituency" in accordance with the rules in effect.

Also, 23 members of the LCY Central Committee and Presidium are delegated to the Federal Conference of the SAWPY and its bodies.

In its analysis of the work of delegates and delegations which "represent the LCY" at the federal level the Presidium notes that it can "be judged favorably on the whole...." But that the delegates and delegations "are

still not sufficiently evident and active in the delegate bodies, that is, in the system itself, where they would fight for their positions by the force of argument rather than for strength of their authority."

So that there will be no confusion about what is being referred to here, a bit further on there is this assessment: "There are also subjective shortcomings--the manifestation of inadequate preparedness for activity in delegate organs and bodies; a formalistic attitude toward work and forms of activity; insufficient activity in general; absence or departure from meetings and also a transfer of the delegates' duties to personnel of the staff service."

#### How the Presidium Has Operated

Experience over the past year has confirmed a form of decisionmaking at the top of Yugoslavia's political pyramid which in the past has been rarely used and was almost unknown: joint sessions of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee and the SFRY State Presidency. This "duet" of the highest collective bodies, which, of course, is not contrary to the Constitution nor to the LCY Bylaws, gained its affirmation at fateful moments. Thus of the 36 meetings it held, the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee held 14 jointly with the SFRY State Presidency. By and large they had to do with the taking of appropriate steps concerning the illness and funeral of Comrade Tito. But they also concerned the most delicate matters of Yugoslavia's domestic and foreign policy.

It is not hard to see that economic problems were nevertheless dominant at the numerous meetings of the Presidium over the past year. In view of the severity with which the Presidium has assessed the situation in this area, this is fairly understandable.

The list of topics which the Presidium took up in its meetings is a rather long one in spite of its unforeseen obligations. Aside from "certain outstanding questions of political ideology" and "active participation in reconciliation of views," and implementation of "Tito's initiative," it also includes many topics in the area of the political equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities (including inter alia the "position of the Romanies [Gypsies]") and of the republics and provinces; the position of the young generation; the social position and role of women....

#### The Search for Better Organization

Nor does work in the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee consist exclusively of what happens at meetings; this is perhaps only a smaller portion of the job done regularly in this forum. Within the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee there are many commissions and working groups at work, there are sectors for various fields, there are executive secretaries responsible for particular areas.... In analyzing their work the Presidium was among other things rather clear in its criticism because "to a certain

extent the sectors were dissociated from one another, which is a consequence of excessive confinement each to its own work program and tasks, though many tasks, by their very nature, called for synchronization or a joint effort. That accounts for the failure to achieve the necessary effectiveness, quality, and optimality, especially concerning the more complicated tasks."

Nor by all appearances is the Presidium altogether satisfied with the functioning of the administrative staff which supports its work. "The functioning of the work community as a whole has not yet been adapted to the needs of better, more efficient and optimum performance of tasks "above all of various subjective, and to some extent even objective reasons," states the report for the past year.

Asked to comment on the judgments set forth in this report, one official of the Presidium said in an interview which we conducted after the meeting of the Central Committee: "The essential problem is to answer the question of whether the overall activity of the party and then the activity of this forum as well was reflecting real events or not. I think it is evident from this report that it was. After all, there is no one so wise that he can plan everything a party forum will be taking up tomorrow or over the coming year."

#### A Mirror of Reality

Nor is the way in which the public has up to now been learning about the decisions of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee without importance; certainly those decisions are carefully considered before any decision is taken which is to become a guideline for party members. Newsmen do not as a rule attend the meetings of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, but they are issued official press releases concerning them, and these are later sent out by TANJUG. A similar procedure is followed by and large in the corresponding forums of the republics and provinces. It is thought by some that in the effort to implement the policy of the League of Communists and in the endeavor to achieve the involvement and vigorous activity of a maximum number of party members, working people and citizens in applying the political stands to everyday life, it would still be more worthwhile if the meetings of the Presidium were as a rule open to the public.

#### Where From Here

What will the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee be taking up during this year in the sessions which will be chaired by Lazar Mojsov? At one of the very next meetings practical preparations will begin in advance of the next congress of the League of Communists, the 12th, which is scheduled to be held during 1982. At one of the upcoming meetings of the Central Committee there will be a comprehensive examination of progress in carrying out resolutions on implementation of "Tito's initiative to promote collective work, responsibility and further democratization of sociopolitical

relations," on which the Presidium will submit a specific report to the Central Committee. It is well known that the resolutions previously adopted on this matter require relevant amendment of the constitution and the bylaws.

Because of unforeseen circumstances over the past year the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee was able to take up only 10 of the scheduled 36 topics in the work program adopted previously. There are many reasons for believing that the year which is now beginning will be essentially different in that respect and that the "top party leadership" will be considerably more oriented toward performing its numerous current obligations. Especially since those obligations are neither small nor few.

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CSO: 2800



## SAWPY OPEN TO DIFFERING VIEWS, BUT NOT OPPOSITION

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Jan 81 p 4

[Excerpts] In a 21 January interview on Sarajevo television, Todo Kurtovic, president of the SAWPY /Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia/, said that the sections of SAWPY are the place for bringing out differing and even opposing opinions. In answering the question as to whether "something we could call oppositional action is sometimes injected into this area [SAWPY] in an organized way," he said: If sections were not the place where various views are brought out--views which can even be divergent ... this would not be the Socialist Alliance. This would be a gathering of like-minded people who would cooperate successfully, but it would not have real political effect or breadth in society. Thus, the Socialist Alliance must open itself to all those who want to participate actively, even to those who keep to the side or try to wage discussion, for instance in certain publications, outside the Socialist Alliance. But in regard to those opposition forces, it is my impression--how far I am right I do not know--that they in general do not want to appear in the Socialist Alliance. In fact, they have turned, in their attacks, upon the League of Communists itself, and they do not accept that which our political life offers, they often do not speak about this, or they represent this more or less in terms which cover up their real intentions or real goals, or that which they want. Can one ask why?

In my opinion, this is because they fear the real interests of the people. All this is a recognizable phenomenon, and all that which is not acceptable or is not based on the interest of the people should be rejected. It is my conviction that these forces will act in a destructive and group-like way and will be oriented toward attacking certain forums and certain bodies of the LC or certain institutions, but that they will never be included in the work of [SAWPY] sections, even less in the work of local [SAWPY] organizations.

CSO: 2800

FREEDOM TO EXPRESS POLITICAL OPINIONS AT ISSUE

Archbishop on Human Rights

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 27 Jan 81 p 4

[Extracts from the Christmas sermon of the archbishop of Zagreb: "'The Church Must Be With Man'"]

[Text] Instructed by Jesus Christ and his cross and his resurrection, the church has been called on to be with man, to be for man, unceasingly to preach to him God and his redemption, and to be all the closer to man the more he has been humiliated, discouraged or oppressed, the more he suffers.

Therefore the church appeals, prays and warns. It recognizes the problems. It demands that man with all his inalienable rights be respected, that his conscience be respected, his eternal destiny, and that he have every right to profess his faith publicly, that he not be forced to hide because of some fear or other but that what he believes be expressed in his life and that he be conscious of himself, in accordance with divine revelation, in accordance with the word of God....

Therefore we stand by man, by every individual, appealing for the hallowed rights of every individual to be respected, for respect of the inalienable dignity of a human being. We therefore also engage ourselves in behalf of those imprisoned.

As archbishop of Zagreb I sent a letter to the government 3 months ago asking that careful thought be devoted to the state of affairs regarding the rights, the religious rights in prisons. If a prisoner, for whatever reason he may have been sentenced and imprisoned, considers himself a believer, does that give him the right to be visited by a priest? Does he have the right to confession, to receive communion, to get religious papers and journals? If it comes about that he is condemned to death, does he have the right to have a priest with him at that heavy moment?

I asked consideration of these questions with entirely good intentions, entirely openly and sincerely, for the sake of man. I also posed the question as to whether the government sees to it sufficiently that in prisons callous individuals do not mete out illegal and inhuman treatment to prisoners. Is it, for instance, permissible for someone to be thrown into a cold concrete cell in the winter? Such questions are dictated by one's conscience.

Constructive and well-meaning words should be listened to seriously; we too expect that. When an individual or a group of individuals submits a request, a demand or a suggestion for improving the conditions of people and all of society to those

responsible for public life and the life of society, no exception ought to be taken by any means to the principles of genuine democracy being observed and to the universal moral principles--which, after all, by now are being voiced by everyone in the world--being respected. All large bodies, all international organizations today make the universal principles of the dignity of the individual and of human rights their own, and this is being subscribed to by governments in east and west, in north and south. It thus becomes an obligation. But if what we desire is not yet reality, does not yet exist, we feel we are fully entitled to insist on it, to point it out, to make requests, to make demands--courteously, honestly, sincerely, but also staunchly....

We preach love in the face of any hate. We preach forgiveness. We preach the community of mankind in freedom, with equal rights and in peace, and we want that to become the reality of our life. It can be a Christmas gift, a gift of God who became man, a gift of his redemption....

#### Petition for Amnesty

Frankfurt/Main FRANFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 27 Jan 81 p 4

[Article by Johann George Reissmueller: "Prison for Dissidents?--The Consequences of a Petition"]

[Text] The above passages are from the Christmas sermon delivered by the archbishop of Zagreb, Franjo Kuharic, in the cathedral on Kaptol Hill in Zagreb on 25 December 1980. The sermon was not published until January, mimeographed, in the gazette of the Archbishopric of Zagreb, which appears in about 800 copies, the recipients being mainly pastors. The text of the sermon may therefore continue to be regarded as unpublished. Normally Kuharic's address would have been printed in the Christmas issue of GLAS KONCILA (Voice of the Council) published by the Archbishopric of Zagreb and appearing fortnightly in a circulation of about 100,000. The fact that this did not happen was a surprise. The following comment has been made on this by circles of the Catholic Church of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia:

The socialist printing firm which prints GLAS KONCILA informed the paper that owing to a paper shortage it could print only 15,000 copies of the Christmas issue, or one-tenth of the desired 150,000. (On the occasion of important holidays GLAS KONCILA appears in a bigger circulation than usual.) In fact there has long been a shortage of paper in Yugoslavia, but papers and journals dominated by the party are not affected by it. Only on intervention by the archbishopric with the Croatian public Office for Church Affairs did GLAS KONCILA get enough paper for 150,000 copies.

In this difficult situation, it has been learned, the church paper shrank from publishing the Christmas sermon of the archbishop, which in some passages (printed above) deals with events causing disquiet in Zagreb and not only in Zagreb.

The focal point of the situation is a petition in which 42 citizens, most of them personalities well known in Croatia, propose to the Yugoslav Parliament in Belgrade a legal amnesty for all those who have been sentenced or are to be sentenced or might be sentenced in Yugoslavia because of political statements made orally or in writing. Signatories of the petition include physics Professor Ivan Supek, onetime president of the University of Zagreb; the well-known professors of medicine Katunaric, Ivancic and Kallay; former partisan general and historian Tudjman, who is being

tried in Zagreb for having made political statements in violation of the law; the painters Krsenic, Maurovic and Orlovic, the sculptor Praic; classical philologist and author Professor Simic, and several lawyers. There are also well-known Catholics among the signatories--the secretary of the Yugoslav Bishops Conference, Monsignor Solod; the chief editor of the church paper GLAS KONCILA, Zivko Kustic; the lecturer Kolaric of the Catholic Theological Faculty in Zagreb.

The signatures had been collected by Zagreb student Paraga, who is among the signatories. He was promptly arrested, then, according to his mother, put in a cold concrete cell, and now is to be tried. What the Zagreb archbishop said in his Christmas sermon calling for human prison conditions in accordance with the law and for dealing tolerantly with initiators of petitions remains hearers in Zagreb immediately of Paraga.

The prosecution charges Paraga with two things--first, that he arbitrarily changed the text of the petition after the petitioners had signed it and, secondly, that the text as changed by him was demanding amnesty for political offenders as a whole, in other words (the prosecution concludes) also for those who have engaged or are engaging in physical violence.

Several signatories wonder whether Paraga actually changed the text; they have neither the text nor a carbon copy nor a photocopy of it. But they do not think this is significant: they had wanted to protest citizens who had only voiced political opinions differing from those of the authorities being treated like criminals. Several signatories of the petition have been summoned to appear before the political police and have been questioned there about the matter. Evidently this was to give them the impression that it was a question of criminal proceedings only against Paraga, not against them.

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## BRIEFS

SELECTION FROM LJUBICIC OPUS--Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian on 15 January 1981, pages 5-16, contains a pamphlet-style supplement described as a selection by Col Miras Stozinic from the theoretical works of Federal Defense Secretary Nikola Ljubicic, headed "Tito's Military Achievement--a Durable Source for the Development of the Concept of Nationwide Defense and Social Self-Protection." An untitled introduction is followed by sections headed "The Theoretical Foundation of Tito's Concept of Nationwide Defense and Social Self-Protection as the Modality of the Marxist Theory of the Armed Folk," "The Concept of Nationwide Defense as an Element of Tito's Authentic Concept of the Revolution," "The Social Foundations and Social Essence of the Concept of Nationwide Defense," "The Military Essence of Nationwide Defense," "The Essence of the Strategy of Armed Struggle in a Nationwide Defensive War," and "Tito's Understanding of the Role and Significance of the Factors Involved in War and Armed Struggle." Original publication dates and references for the selection, which is designed as study material for the first topic in this year's ideological/political training program for command personnel, are not provided. The work is heavily footnoted with references to Marx, Engels, and Lenin; appears to cover familiar ground; and gives the impression of having been ghost-written by a committee. [Editorial Report]

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**DATE FILMED**

25 Feb. 1981



